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Cover Page Footnote

With big excavations of this size there are always many people to thank. The authors would particularly like to thank AHS's field and lab crew; Thames River historian Richard Dooley; Linda Christensen, president of the Preston Historical Society; David Poirier, retired staff archaeologist, Connecticut's State Historical Preservation Office; and Peter Simmons, who coordinated the studies of the former Norwich State Hospital for the Connecticut Department of Economic and Community Development. The authors would also like to thank the reviewers and editors of this paper, anonymous reviewer 1 and anonymous reviewer 2; Meg Harper, director of AHS, Inc.; and Susan Maguire, editor Northeast Historical Archaeology.

Archaeology at the 1777 Ebenezer Story Site: The Household Economy of a Family of Fishermen-Farmers on the Thames River, Preston, Connecticut

Ross K. Harper and Bruce Clouette

*This paper uses data from a colonial-period maritime household site to expand understanding of the economic and subsistence practices of fisherman-farmer families. The site is the 1777 homestead of Ebenezer Story on the eastern bank of the Thames River in Preston, Connecticut, about 12 miles from Long Island Sound. Like many New England Yankees, Story had a diverse household economy: he practiced subsistence farming, fished and shellfished, and owned a saltworks, boats, and cider mill in common with his family. During the Revolutionary War, Story leased part of his land for the construction of the Continental frigate *Confederacy*, and he opened a tavern in his home to serve the shipyard workers, two opportunities that proved lucrative. Story's descendants continued as fishermen-farmers for several generations, adapting to changes in fish and shellfish availability and to new markets, until a maritime-oriented life was no longer tenable. The combined archaeological and documentary data from the Story site permit an unusually close look at the daily lives of a southern New England riverine-maritime family over time, illuminating poorly understood social and economic aspects of Yankee lifeways.*

*En étudiant les données provenant du site d'une maisonnée de la période coloniale située en région maritime, cet article élargi nos connaissances sur les pratiques économiques et les pratiques de subsistance de familles vivant de la pêche et de l'agriculture. Le site en question est celui de la propriété familiale d'Ebenezer Story datant de 1777. Le site est situé sur la rive sud de la rivière Thames à Preston, une ville dans l'état du Connecticut située à environ 12 miles de Long Island Sound. Comme plusieurs Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, Story comptait sur une économie domestique variée. Il pratiquait une agriculture de subsistance et pêchait aussi le poisson, les mollusques et les crustacés. Sa famille et lui possédaient aussi une saline, des bateaux et une cidrerie. Pendant la guerre de l'indépendance, Story a loué une partie de sa terre afin d'y permettre la construction d'une frégate de la marine Continentale nommée *Confederacy*. Il a aussi opéré une taverne dans sa maison au service des ouvriers du chantier maritime. Ces deux initiatives se sont avérées être lucratives pour Story. Ses descendants ont continué de travailler en tant que pêcheurs et agriculteurs, s'adaptant à la disponibilité changeante du poisson, des mollusques et des crustacés. Ils ont dû s'adapter aussi aux nouveaux marchés pendant plusieurs générations jusqu'au jour où la vie basée sur les ressources maritimes n'était plus soutenable. Les données archéologiques combinées aux données documentaires du site Story permettent un regard de très près sur la vie quotidienne, au fil du temps, d'une famille du sud de la Nouvelle-Angleterre vivant en milieu maritime et riverain. Cette étude permet de mettre en lumière les aspects sociaux et économiques des modes de vie des Américains, deux aspects jusqu'ici méconnus.*

Introduction

Documentary and archaeological data from the 1777 Story homestead site elucidate economic and subsistence practices of Yankee riverine-maritime families. Situated on a terrace above the eastern bank of the Thames River in Preston, Connecticut, the Ebenezer Story homestead site provides rich data on the daily lives of a fisherman-farmer family through several generations. The Storys, like other New England Yankee families, exploited a wide range of economic opportunities to make a living, adapting as conditions around

them changed through time. They practiced subsistence farming, fished and shellfished, and owned saltworks for preserving fish. Ebenezer Story, however, was perhaps more ambitious or more lucky than most other middling-sort fishermen-farmers. In the year 1777 he built his home on the river, and he leased some of his homestead land for construction of the Continental frigate *Confederacy*, for which he earned a considerable fee. He also operated a tavern out of his home catering to the shipyard workers.

Story's descendants continued as fishermen-farmers for several generations, adapting to

Figure 1. Archaeological testing at the Ebenezer Story homestead site, Preston, Connecticut, Site No. 114-115. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.).

decreases in the Thames River fish and shellfish populations, but also to new markets opened up by the introduction of the railroad and by oyster cultivation. It was not until the late 19th century that making a living from riverine-maritime resources was no longer tenable.

Thousands of artifacts and food remains were found in the archaeological excavations and are used here to demonstrate how, through time, the Storys lived and adapted to the environment and market economy, adding considerably to the relative paucity of data on southern New England riverine-maritime social and economic lifeways.

Summary of the Archaeological Excavation

The Story site was discovered in 2005 in the course of an archaeological reconnaissance survey of a 500-acre former Connecticut state hospital property slated for redevelopment. The initial testing at the Story site, conducted in 2000, included 27 50 × 50 cm shovel-test pits, which yielded 1,116 artifacts (Harper, Forest, and Clouette 2001). Although much of the river terrace had been disturbed by heavy machinery, the site appeared to include deep stratified soils below layers of fill. The oldest artifacts corresponded with the earliest occupation of the site by the Story family, beginning in 1776, including English white salt-glazed stoneware (1720-1805) and untyped creamware (1762-1820), 18th-century buttons, iron shoe-buckle fragments, and a cast-lead fishing-net weight. Most of the earlier artifacts were found south of what appeared to be fieldstone walls protruding just above the ground surface, barely visible in the dense vegetal overgrowth that covered the site. The walls proved to be the Story House foundation.

Intensified Phase II testing was conducted in 2005 and included an additional 69 shovel-test pits excavated along a 5 m interval grid for even

coverage across the site (Harper et al. 2005) (FIG. 1). A total of 6,168 additional artifacts were found, including a wide variety of 18th- and 19th-century architectural and domestic cultural material, personal items such as buttons and kaolin-pipe fragments, and numerous animal-bones and shellfish remains. Excavations in and around the visible foundation walls confirmed that the site included a mix of soil disturbance and pockets of intact soils of varying depths. Two test pits south of the foundation produced large quantities of artifacts from deep stratified deposits in an apparent midden.

Because the State of Connecticut believed at the time that the site could not be preserved in place, a data recovery program (Phase III) was undertaken to remove a significant sample of the site to mitigate impacts from anticipated development (Harper et al. 2005; Harper and Clouette 2006; Harper 2010a; Clouette and Harper 2010). A backhoe with a landscaping blade was used to remove thick surficial fill deposits from across the site; 74, 1 × 1 m units were then excavated. Twenty-five historic-period and precontact features were discovered, and an additional 28,000 artifacts and ecofacts were recovered. The excavated soils were sifted through 1/8 in. wire-mesh screens, and 36, 10 L soil flotation samples were removed from features and midden deposits to retrieve very small artifacts such as beads, lead shot, straight pins, charred seeds

Figure 2. Section of the Thames River on the 1841 U.S. Coast Survey with arrow indicating the Story homestead. North is at the top of the map. The building to the south, on Craig's Cove, is the ca. 1840 Story House.

Figure 3. An early 20th-century photograph showing the west side of the Story House and an outbuilding to the south (right). The building on the riverbank may be the "fish house" that appears on a ca. 1890 railroad map. (Photo courtesy of Richard Dooley.)

and nuts, and small bones; the soil samples were water screened with custom tubs and fine mesh.

The Story homestead appears as a small cluster of buildings on early coastal-survey maps (U.S. Coast Survey 1841) (FIG. 2). The archaeologically-exposed house foundation correlates well with the L-shaped building footprint depicted on railroad survey maps drafted ca.1890 and 1915 (Norwich and Worcester Railroad 1890; New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad 1915) (a railroad line cut through the Story property on the river's edge in 1843). Early 20th-century photographs of the homestead show a typical 19th-century-style house, with substantial overhangs on the gable ends of the roof, long and narrow proportions, and a small chimney; an older looking ell is off the back (FIG. 3). The original 1777 Story House is believed to be the back ell. The fieldstone piers of an outbuilding and a rectangular dry-laid fieldstone foundation of another outbuilding were discovered south of the house. Notably, the house faced the Thames River, not the nearby road that led to the river, reflecting the riverine-maritime focus of the family.

The exposure of the house foundation, which was constructed of dry-laid fieldstone, also revealed several important features, including a stone-stepped bulkhead cellar

entrance on the south end of the ell and a red-brick cistern (FIG. 1). The interior walls and floor of the cistern were coated with white parging. The cistern measured 11 × 6 ft. in plan and approximately 3 ft. in depth, giving it a water capacity of about 1,481 gal. It is not clear when the cistern was constructed, but brick and stone cisterns were used throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in maritime regions where fresh water was scarce or when wells became contaminated by brackish water (Harper 1990). The fireplaces were not located during the data recovery because the cellar was filled with structural debris and fill and was not extensively excavated; their locations were projected from early photographs of the house.

South of the house, a very deep and large stratified midden was found, extremely rich in artifacts, shell, and fish remains, which were exceptionally well-preserved (FIGS. 1 AND 4). A total of seven, 1 × 1 m units were excavated in this area in a linear manner to crosscut and sample the midden. The midden lies within a natural swale and was excavated in 20 cm levels within visible strata. Thick bands of shellfish and large quantities of artifacts were recovered, including ceramics, green liquor-bottle and drinking-glass fragments, tools, eating utensils, carbonized botanical remains, and animal bone. Relative dates for each stratum were calculated from ceramics and other diagnostic artifacts, such as kaolin-pipe stems, bottle glass, coins, and buttons. The soil strata represented different episodes of use, ranging from the 20th century, at the top, down to 1776 when the house was built. Every layer of the midden from the 18th century to the late 19th century contains copious amounts of shellfish and fish remains, attesting to the Story family's fishing and shellfishing economy. Other faunal remains reflect animal husbandry.

Below the fill strata were six midden levels, which had been capped and protected by the fill. Stratum 1 (ca. 1825-1850) and Stratum 1A (ca. 1810-1825) contained a variety of household refuse and thick deposits of shellfish, especially oyster. Stratum 1A also contained a large quantity of slag and scrap iron, indicating there was also a small forge on the site at this time. The forge is not discussed in the historical records. Stratum 1B (ca.1790-

Figure 4. Soil profile of the swale midden. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

1810) contained household refuse and shellfish, but the remains rested on a surface made of round river cobbles. This cobble "paving" was used to create a work surface in the midden; in the 18th century such paving was not uncommon in muddy or wet areas with a lot of human or animal activity. Oyster shells were shucked and fish were dressed on this cobble work surface within the midden as evidenced by concentrations of shell, animal bone, lost tools, and personal effects from Stratum 1B.

Below the cobble stratum was a thick shell and household-refuse layer; Stratum 2 (1777-ca. 1790) contained a diversity of artifacts, including many likely related to the tavern the Storys operated during the construction of the *Confederacy*: matching sets of creamware and China-glaze ceramics; fragments of glass liquor and case bottles; drinking glasses, especially tumblers; and an abundance of food remains such as bone, shell, and carbonized nuts and seeds. This stratum also had large fragments of slag, inconsistent with household blacksmithing. The slag was likely from the *Confederacy* shipyard forges (there were five at one time), which appear to have been on the western edge of the Story site, but were destroyed when the railroad truncated the property at the river's edge. Large boulders had also been pushed into Stratum 2, apparently in an effort to fill in the swale and make the area around the newly constructed 1777 house more usable.

The lowest cultural level in the swale, Stratum 2A, contained soils and refuse that were deposited when the construction of the Story House began in 1776, including fragments of red brick, shell mortar, window glass, and hand-wrought nails. Little household refuse was found in this level; the soils were particularly sandy and likely included cellar ejecta, or soil dug out to create a cellar, from the house construction. Stratum 2A rested on intact subsoils in the northern excavation units; the subsoil was not reached in the southern units because the natural swale was too deep, and the south yard of the house was originally at a much lower elevation than it is currently. At the interface of Stratum 2A and the subsoil (Stratum B1), only small and thin pockets of buried A soils (i.e., the original 1776 ground surface) were found due to the naturally

steep slope and because the area was apparently heavily trampled during the construction of the house.

A detailed reconstruction of the size and depth of the midden-filled swale could not be determined from the fieldwork, but it appears to be minimally about 25 × 30 ft. (7.6 × 9.1 m) in plan, with the border edges extending out somewhat farther. The deepest excavated unit was S3W6, which terminated in Stratum 2A at just over 8 ft. (2.4 m) below the ground surface. Unit S4W6 was excavated to Stratum 2 to a depth of 7 ft. 3 in. (2.2 m). Approximately 10% of the swale midden was sampled and the remainder was left in situ.

The Revolutionary War

The first English colonist to settle in Preston, CT was Jonathan Brewster in 1650. In 1771, his descendent, also Jonathan Brewster, sold approximately 20 acres of land at "Brewster's Bar" for £76 to Jonathan Story of Norwich and his sons Ebenezer and Samuel (Norwich Land Records 1771; Preston Land Records 1780, 1792, 1805, 1843; Caulkins 1866: 213; Stark 1922: 66-68; Hall 1971: 4-5). Like many Yankees living along Connecticut's coast and tidal rivers, Jonathan Story combined farming, fishing, and other activities to earn a living. He owned a number of small boats, fishing seines, a cider mill, and a saltworks in common with others, including his sons. In 1776 both Jonathan Story and his son Ebenezer sold timber suitable for shipbuilding to Uriah Hayden, who was building the Connecticut ship *Oliver Cromwell* on the Connecticut River (Connecticut Archives 1776). In addition to his one-third interest in the property on the Thames River, Jonathan Story had an inland farm of 78 acres. Jonathan was a man of middling means and a leader in the Baptist church. At the time of his death in 1781, his livestock consisted of a yoke of oxen, seven other cattle, a horse, three swine, and a dozen sheep and lambs. He had modest possessions, including brass buckles, homespun stockings, "crockery ware," furniture, and "one old sword" (Norwich Probate District 1781; Caulkins 1866: 321).

Three members of the Story family shared ownership of the parcel, but Ebenezer Story seems to have been the most involved, even

Figure 5. A sherd of unglazed, gray-bodied, low-fired coarse earthenware and a King George II half-penny dated 1748/9 and drilled to make a pendant. These artifacts from the swale midden may be associated with the culturally diverse itinerant shipyard workers building the frigate *Confederacy* in 1777-1778. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

though he also had a house in the Chelsea section of Norwich, which was a large and prosperous inland port town (Norwich Land Records 1778: 254). Ebenezer completed the construction of a second house on the Thames River property in January 1777, and the following May he successfully petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly for permission to open a tavern in that house. Ebenezer Story's tavern catered to the many shipyard workers building a Continental frigate "within a few rods" of his house, near what became known as *Confederacy Point*, and later *Fort Point* (Connecticut Archives 1777). Although the shipyard appears to have provided grog and a noonday meal for the workforce, a nearby tavern would serve the workers during their leisure hours. Much of the workforce boarded in the immediate vicinity at the shipyard's expense, possibly some in the Story House/Tavern. Story's application for a tavern license stated that "a tavern is greatly wanted for the accommodation of traders, seamen, etc. that have business" at the Continental shipyard (New London Court 1777).

Constructing the frigate, eventually named *Confederacy*, a common name for the union of the original 13 colonies, was a large undertaking that involved hundreds of workers for over a year. The accounts of the *Confederacy's* construction include a substantial sum of £244 paid to Ebenezer Story in gold and silver for

undisclosed goods or services, which likely included rent for use of Story land for the shipyard (Frigate *Confederacy* Papers 1776-1779; Wolcott-Huntington Papers 1777-1779).

Ebenezer Story's profitable association with the *Confederacy* project likely was helped by family connections. Ebenezer Story married Mehitable Webb on November 15, 1771, and together they had three children: David (born 1772), Ebenezer II (born 1779), and James (born 1781). His mother-in-law, Mehitable Huntington, was the sister of Samuel Huntington, signer of the Declaration of Independence, president of the Continental Congress, and, later, governor of Connecticut. Mehitable Webb Story was also a third cousin of Joshua Huntington, the Norwich merchant in charge of building the *Confederacy*. In addition to his tavern and apparent land lease, Ebenezer Story had other dealings with the shipyard. He and his brother Samuel sometimes rented the shipyard's scow, they had timbers sawn by the shipyard's saws, and once Ebenezer had a horse shod at the shipyard's blacksmith shop. He delivered milk to the shipyard, provided carting services and meals for some of the workers, and sold the shipyard a good amount of timber for the ship's frame and planking (Frigate *Confederacy* Papers 1776-1779; Wolcott-Huntington Papers 1777-1779). Ebenezer also purchased large amounts of wood shavings from the yard, measured in cords or cartloads; these shavings may have been used as fuel for the Storys' saltworks.

The construction of *Confederacy* brought dozens of itinerant shipyard workers to the Story homestead: skilled carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers, cooks, and clerks. The names of the workers in the shipyard records reveal a highly diverse workforce that included Yankees with local English-derived surnames, as well as those of apparent French, Italian, and Irish origin. The payrolls also included Native Americans such as Daniel Uncas and Turtle Hunter from the nearby reservations, as well as men listed as "Negro." Eighteenth-century maritime culture was highly diverse, and men were typically paid in hard currency (rare at this time) according to their skills, not their race or ethnicity (Frigate *Confederacy* Papers 1776-1779; Wolcott-Huntington Papers 1777-1779). Growing up and working in the port of Norwich and along the Thames River,

Ebenezer Story was immersed not only in the Yankee culture of his family and neighbors, but he also had frequent interactions with the itinerant mariners who worked along the river. Story likely also served as a cultural broker between these two strikingly different, but sometimes overlapping, worlds. A pendant made from a drilled British halfpenny (dated 1748 or 1749) and a sherd of unglazed, gray-bodied, low-fired earthenware were found in the swale midden (FIG. 5). These types of artifacts typically are not associated with Anglo-American Yankee households and may have come from one of the many itinerant shipyard workers building *Confederacy*.

Confederacy was launched November 8, 1778; the newspaper the *Norwich Packet* enthusiastically described her as "the finest ship yet built on the continent" (*Norwich Packet* 1778). The 32-gun frigate then was rigged and a crew recruited in New London; her captain was Seth Harding, who previously had been captain of the Continental ships *Defense* and *Oliver Cromwell*. Ebenezer Story joined the crew of the *Confederacy* and served as ship's carpenter, a highly-skilled position that required the ability to perform all manner of ship repair and maintenance at sea (Collier 1893: 3-76; Johnson 1904). After surviving a storm and taking several British vessels, *Confederacy* was captured off the coast of Virginia on April 14, 1781 and brought to New York City, which was under British control (Middlebrook 1925: 50-51; Howard 1930). The loss of the frigate with 100 men on board as well as stores of army clothing and West India goods was a considerable blow to the Americans (*New-Jersey Gazette* 1781; *Pennsylvanian Evening Post* 1781; *Pennsylvania Packet* 1781). Crewmen of the *Confederacy* first were confined to the prison ship *Jersey* and later were sent to New London to be exchanged; however, Benedict Arnold intercepted the transfer, reversed the decision, and sent the crewmen back to New York City, where they were confined in the notorious Sugar House Prison (Howard 1930: 148). Eyewitness accounts of the prison, which was converted from a large stone sugar factory, describe horrific conditions of overcrowding, disease, and famine (Dandridge 1911: 128-137).

Story family tradition indicates that Ebenezer slowly starved to death in Sugar

House Prison (Johnson 1904; National Society Daughters of the American Revolution 1965). He was only about 33 years old when he died, leaving Mehitable widowed with their three small sons. Ebenezer's probate inventory, which was filed in Norwich November 18, 1782, lists his half interest in the "Brewster Lot" as "about eleven acres, with half the dwelling house standing thereon" (his brother Jonathan, Jr. owning the other half), and 21 acres of his late father's estate, which he shared with his brother Stephen, who was also involved in shipbuilding in Norwich. At the time of his death, Ebenezer held part ownership of the family's cider mill, saltworks, and several fishing seines and small boats. Other possessions, including various saws, planes, chisels, gouges, compasses, and a "Blue sea chest" reflected his life as a carpenter and mariner. He died with £233 in gold and silver, a substantial sum, probably representing most of what he had earned from the *Confederacy* project, and he had nearly £100 loaned out at interest to his neighbors. Despite his youth, Ebenezer Story had done very well in life and possessed some luxuries: a riding saddle, a beaver hat, velvet breeches, a silver watch, and silver shoe and knee buckles (Norwich Probate District 1782).

The Early Federal Period to the Late 19th Century

Mehitable Story remained at the homestead and raised her three sons; she is listed as head of household in the 1790 census (U.S. Census 1790). The following year she married a local farmer and Revolutionary War veteran named Caleb Edson, with whom she had a daughter, Hannah; Mehitable was widowed again, however, when Caleb drowned in the Thames River in 1805 (*Courier* 1805). Mehitable died in Norwich in 1840 at about age 88 (Secretary of the Interior 1852). The property eventually came into the sole possession of Ebenezer Story II, who married Mary Mansfield about 1807; they had 11 children together (Preston Land Records 1792, 1805). Like his father and grandfather, Ebenezer Story II appears to have supported his family by combining farming and maritime activities. Story kept a single cow and only plowed a few acres for corn, grain, and vegetables. Most of

his approximately 20 acres were woods, pasture, or hayfields.

In 1843, Ebenezer Story II sold a portion of his property to his son, Ebenezer Story III (1809-1873), who recently had built a second house on the property. This is likely the building that appears south of the older Story complex on the north shore of Craig's Cove in the 1841 U.S. Coastal Survey (FIG. 2) and later 19th-century maps (U.S. Coast Survey 1841; Walling 1854; Beers 1868).

This set the pattern of occupation of the property for decades thereafter: the older generation living in the original house at the north end of the property, with the younger generation living in the southern house at the cove (the foundation of the second, later house, was located in the archaeological survey, but not excavated).

According to the 1850 federal census, both Ebenezer Story II and his son, Ebenezer Story III, were fishermen, as was James A. Story, another son who lived with his father (U.S. Census Bureau 1850). Boarding in the household of the elder Story, in addition to his wife and son, were a railroad laborer, his wife, and their young daughter. Following Ebenezer Story II's death in 1852, his son Ebenezer Story III acquired the entire property (Preston Land Records 1852). The elder Story's estate was technically insolvent, due to the large sums he had borrowed from his son during his lifetime. It is unclear how Ebenezer Story III acquired the wealth that he lent to his father. Perhaps he prospered by specializing in oyster cultivation. In 1860, the census listed his occupation as "fish and oysters" and gave his wealth as \$1,500 in real property and \$10,000 in personal property, an exceptional amount for anyone other than a merchant, manufacturer, or gentleman farmer in that period (U.S. Census Bureau 1860a). The construction of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad's branch line in 1843 undoubtedly affected the Story family; with the 99 ft.-wide right-of-way cutting between the homestead and the riverfront, the Storys were obliged to use a set of stairs to get down the railroad embankment to access the water. Still, the railroad made it possible to ship oysters to a much wider market, and there was a small station stop called Fort Point just a few hundred feet from their house, so overall the railroad may have been viewed as a benefit.

Charles F. Story, born in 1842, continued the family fishing tradition. In 1870, Charles, living in the smaller southern house, identified himself as a "dealer in oysters." Then 28, his personal wealth was listed as \$1,600. That same year, his father Ebenezer Story III and brother Ebenezer H. Story were living in the older, larger house to the north, where they identified themselves as a "farmer" and "farm laborer," respectively (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). Despite his self-identification as a farmer, the elder Story still owned two fishing seines and an oyster bed in Poquetanuck Cove at the time of his death in 1873 (Norwich Probate District 1873). He also had accumulated more than \$30,000 in stocks, bonds, and cash, an enormous amount for a rural shellfisherman and farmer.

The children of Ebenezer Story III owned the property in common for another 20 years, with Charles F. Story continuing to reside in the southern house. In 1895 his son, Thomas Winship Story, born in 1860, bought out seven of the other heirs (Preston Land Records 1895); but fishing was no longer profitable. The Story's' 100-year-long fishing-farming subsistence tradition came to an end in 1903 when Thomas sold the northern part of the property, including the original Ebenezer Story House and outbuildings, to Arthur J. and Herbert F. Dawley, owners of the nearby lumberyard built on Fort (Confederacy) Point (Preston Land Records 1903). The state later acquired the property, and the house was burned down in the 1960s as part of a fire-department training exercise.

Fishing and Shellfishing

The historical documentation and archaeological data make it clear that fishing and shellfishing were of paramount importance to the Story family for 100 years. Their farming was on a smaller, subsistence scale. The Thames River, 15 miles long, teemed with salt-water fish such as striped bass, bluefish, flounder, and tom cod, as well as anadromous fish like shad, salmon, and alewives, which made their way upstream to freshwater spawning grounds until 19th-century dams restricted their movements. Fish like shad and salmon were commonly netted in seines, a method employed by the Storys and their

Figure 6. Seven fishhooks and fishhook fragments, four lead line sinkers, and three lead net weights cast from molds; and two homemade net weights hammered out of lead. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

neighbors. Seines typically were stretched out over a substantial portion of the river and anchored to piles in the water. Laying out a seine required the cooperative work of several men, some of whom manned the boat and others who played out and hauled in the net. Hauling in a seine full of fish was laborious. Shad and other fish were dressed and salted on site before being packed in barrels and shipped to market.

In addition to seines, fish were also taken with hooks and lines, basket-type traps or "pots," and spears. The common eel, which was catadromous, migrating from salt to fresh water, was also available for much of the year. Eels were caught in a variety of ways, including on lines baited with a knot of worms called, in New England, a "bob" (Webster 1828). Another method observed in Connecticut involved building stone dams in the shape of projecting angles. These angles were placed with a small opening between them across which a net was stretched in the shape of a purse (Chastellux 1963: 70).

The probate records of the Storys provide more evidence of their river activities and material culture. Ebenezer Story's 1782 probate lists a "Red Canoe" and a one-quarter interest in a "large new canoe," a "long canoe," and an "old canoe" (Norwich Probate District 1782). The dugout canoe, which had been adopted quickly from the Native

Americans by the colonists, was widely used along New England's coasts and rivers (Harper 2010b). In Connecticut, dugout canoes were made from various trees, including the tulip poplar (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), which can grow to 100 ft. in height. "Out of this," wrote the Abbé Robin when traversing through Connecticut during the American Revolution, "the Indians make their canoes or troughs, formed wholly of one piece; and in this particular the English Americans have followed their example, making some of them large enough to carry more than thirty men" (Robin 1969: 27). Story was also one-third owner of a scow, a flat-bottomed multipurpose boat used to transport all manner of materials and goods and to load and unload ships. The shallow drafts of the canoes and scows made them especially well suited for New England's many tidal rivers and bays. For siphoning bilge water out of his boats, Ebenezer had "half a pump and appurtenances," and also listed are "his right in seines," which were appraised at £70. The 1853 probate of Ebenezer Story II lists "one scow boat," and Ebenezer Story III's probate simply lists "2 boats" with "2 seines and ropes" (Norwich Probate District 1853).

The excavations recovered an interesting assemblage of fishing-related artifacts, including fishhooks, lead line sinkers, and lead net weights (FIG. 6). While some of the net weights were cast from specially-made molds, others were made by simply cold hammering lead flat and then cutting and rolling pieces into barrel shapes. The net weights were recovered mostly south of the house in the swale-midden area, suggesting that nets were made and repaired there. The four lead line sinkers and seven fishhooks and fragments found in the midden were used with lines for "angling" techniques (Harper 2010b). Fishing tackle and equipment were often kept in a "fish house," as appears on the Storys' property near the river on a ca. 1890 railroad survey plan (Norwich and Worcester Railroad 1890); it is perhaps the same building visible on the riverbank in an early 20th-century photograph of the homestead (FIG. 3).

Fish make up a substantial part of the faunal assemblage, with 193 bones from the class Osteichthyes (bony fish) (Andrews 2006) (TAB. 1). Because of their small size and delicate

Table 1: Summary of fauna.

Fauna	Number of Specimens	Minimum Number of Individuals
Class Osteichthyes (bony fish)	193	1
Family Clupeidae (herring)	2	1
Family Catostomidae (sucker)	4	2
<i>Morone</i> spp. (temperate bass)	13	3
<i>Rana catesbeiana</i> (bullfrog)	2	1
<i>Chelydra serpentina</i> (snapping turtle)	14	1
Order Testudines (Turtle)	36	1
Goose spp. (goose)	6	1
<i>Gallus gallus</i> (chicken)	28	3
<i>Bubo virginianus</i> (great horned owl)	104	1
Order Passeriformes (perching bird)	1	1
<i>Sylvilagus</i> spp. (cottontail rabbit)	12	1
<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i> (eastern gray squirrel)	1	1
Family Cricetidae (mouse, rat, lemming, or vole)	2	1
Rat spp. (rat)	8	1
Family Delphinidae (ocean dolphins)	1	1
<i>Urocyon cinereoargenteus</i> (grey fox)	1	1
<i>Sus scrofa</i> (domestic pig)	162	5
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i> (white-tailed deer)	1	1
<i>Bos taurus</i> (domestic cattle)	69	3
<i>Ovis aries</i> / <i>Capra hircus</i> (domestic sheep or goat)	27	3
Totals	687	34

nature, most of the fish bones were recovered from soil flotation samples. A diversity of ocean and freshwater fish species also were identified. Along with fishing, the Storys also engaged in shellfishing and, later, as the Thames shellfish population declined in numbers and size due to overfishing and pollution, oyster cultivation in other nearby areas. Stratum 1A (ca. 1810-1825), Stratum 1B (ca. 1790-1810), and Stratum 2 (1777-ca.1790) in the swale midden contained prodigious amounts of shell. Quahog (*Merccenaria mercenaria*), soft-shelled clam (*Mya arenaria*), channeled whelk (*Busycon canaliculatum*), and a few crab shells were also recovered, but eastern oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) was by far the most common. Oysters grew in great abundance in the Thames River and its coves. The variation

in oyster size in the stratified layers of the midden reveals the considerable decline in harvested oyster size during this time. Stratum 2, which dates to the period 1777-ca.1790, was densely packed with very large oyster shells that often exceed 6 in. in length and 1½ in. in width (FIG. 7). Through the upper strata, oyster shells steadily diminish in size, indicating that they were being harvested at an earlier age and the old, large oysters were disappearing.

Some idea of the scale and profitability of the oystering operations of Ebenezer Story III can be gleaned from the information gathered by the 1860 federal census (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b). That year, Story harvested 2,625 bushels of oysters, which he sold for \$2,100. He employed three helpers for seven months of the year, two boys and a man,

Figure 7. Top row: a fragment from a barrel hoop; bottom row from left to right: an iron blade for opening oysters, a typical large oyster shell, a typical small oyster shell, a quahog shell, and a crab claw. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

whom he paid a total of \$45 a month in wages. The cost of harvesting the oysters was reported as \$1,050, so even with some expenses beyond the \$315 in wages paid that year, Story made a good profit. The only statistics for the Story oyster operation indicate that their workers were men and boys, but women were typically employed as shuckers (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b). Some of the shellfish-processing artifacts recovered from the swale midden include 14 oyster-knife blades or wedges used to open the shells, five folding knives and two knife fragments, and several barrel-hoop fragments (FIG. 7). The quantity and completeness of the tools and their location on and above the cobble stratum suggest they were dropped and lost by workers shucking oysters and dressing fish to be put up in barrels.

The large oysters of the senior Ebenezer Story's day were no longer available in the Thames River due to overfishing and industrial pollution, so the Storys turned to oyster cultivation and seeding beds in nearby

Poquetanuck Cove. Although shellfish and fish numbers were declining, market opportunities were expanding. The construction of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad's branch line in 1843 made it possible to ship oysters to a much wider market from the station stop just a few hundred feet from their house. In the early days, Connecticut oysters were shipped by wagon as far away as Albany and New York, but once the transcontinental railroad system was in place; Cincinnati, Chicago, and even San Francisco became markets for Connecticut oysters. Overharvesting, sewage, the silting up of rivers and bays, and industrial pollution finally ended viable commercial fishing and oystering in the Thames River by the time of the First World War.

Farming and Related Subsistence Activities

The foodways of the Storys were decidedly maritime based, but they also raised livestock for meat and dairy products, grew a variety of

vegetables and grains, and supplemented their diet with fruits and nuts and wild game. Located only a few miles from Norwich, the Storys had access to a wide range of imported goods and ready markets for their fish, shellfish, and agricultural products. By the mid-18th century Norwich was a major New England port, and its location, though 15 miles inland, had the advantage of being more centrally located in the region and, therefore, more accessible to farmers. At this time, the colony's economy was extensively tied to trade with the commercial centers of New York City and Boston, and especially with the West Indies. Major Connecticut exports included barrels of salted pork, beef, and fish, as well as cattle, horses, poultry, "Indian corn," butter, cheese, and lumber.

Salt, which was essential for preserving fish, meat, and dairy products, was in critically short supply during the Revolutionary War when the British blockaded imports from the West Indies. To meet their needs, the Storys produced some or all of the salt themselves. Jonathan Story's 1781 probate listed "one sixth part of a pot-ash kettle & one sixth of a try (kettle) both in salt works" (Norwich Probate District 1781). His son Ebenezer Story, in his probate the following year, had three large "potash kettles" that were also likely used in salt production (Norwich Probate District 1782). Producing salt from brackish water was labor intensive and required great quantities of fuel: 250 gal. of seawater produced only a bushel of salt (Wansey 1970: 53).

A total of 2,441 animal bones were analyzed from the Story site, with 687 specimens identifiable to 21 different fauna species, families, or classes. The assemblage includes a minimum of 34 individuals related to food and nonfood animals (Andrews 2006) (TAB. 1). Although the assemblage is not large, it provides more important clues into the Storys' diet. The bones were recovered from features and midden strata dating to the period of 1776-ca. 1850, almost the entire lifetime of Ebenezer Story II (1779-1853). For the Storys, as with most New England farm families, their cattle were the most important livestock. In Ebenezer Story's 1782 probate are listed a "brown yearling bull," "two yearling heifers," and a "half yoke of oxen" (Norwich Probate District 1782). Cattle bones (*Bos taurus*)

representing a minimum of three individuals were found: two adults and a calf. Along with beef, the cows also produced milk. Sherds from several milk pans, and a large slip-decorated red-earthenware milk pan or serving dish were recovered from Stratum 2, measuring 15 in. in diameter and 2 in. deep (FIG. 8). Pig (*Sus sus*) is represented by five individuals. The pigs may have been butchered for immediate use, with some pork, like beef, salted and stored in barrels for later use or sale. Sheep/goat (*Ovis aries*/*Capra hircus*, the two species are combined since they cannot be easily distinguished skeletally) are represented by three individuals, one a juvenile. The bones are probably associated with sheep. Besides providing mutton, the wool from Ebenezer Story's sheep might have been made into yarn with the family's pair cards and woolen wheel.

Figure 8. A cross-mended, lead-glazed red-earthenware milk pan or serving dish with yellow floral slip decoration from Stratum 2 (1777-ca. 1790) of the swale midden. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

The remains of domesticated birds from the site include three individual chickens (*Gallus gallus*), which were easy to raise and provided meat and eggs year-round. Goose bones (Goose spp.) were recovered; these birds were especially valued for their meat, grease, down, and quills.

Hunting and trapping of game animals and birds provided an important source of meat, furs, hides, and feathers for many 18th-century families in Connecticut (Harper 2008a). A variety of wild birds and animals were also recovered from the Story site, including cottontail rabbit (*Sylvilagus* spp.), eastern gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*), and

gray fox (*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*). Evidence for large game includes a bone from a white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). The remains of an individual snapping turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*), an animal that prefers fresh water but can also be found in brackish waters like the Thames River, are in the assemblage. Both freshwater and sea turtles were considered delicacies in the 18th century, and, in Hannah Glasse's *Art of Cookery* (first published in 1747), she describes in detail how to prepare turtle, including the "West India way" (Glasse 1997: 227-229).

The Storys' probate records provide but few clues into the types of grains and vegetables grown and consumed. Even basic farming implements such as a plow and harrow are not listed in Ebenezer's 1782 probate and were likely borrowed from his father Jonathan, whose probate the year before does list them (Norwich Probate District 1781, 1782). The 197 identified carbonized plant remains recovered in screens and in soil-flotation samples from the swale midden provide specific information on cultivated- and wild-plant foods in the Story household diet (Sidell 2007) (TAB. 2). Apple remains were abundant and were recovered from the lowest levels of the midden, thus dating to the earliest periods of the house. Cider production was an important fall activity for the Storys, and Ebenezer Story's probate lists him owning part of a cider mill valued at £15 (Norwich Probate District 1782). Cider was a common drink in 18th-century Connecticut, and in 1801 the North Society section of Preston produced 3,359 barrels (Hart 2003: 369).

Other cultivated crops identified include wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and two staples adopted early on from Native peoples: maize, or corn (*Zea mays*), which was found at virtually every level of the midden, and the common bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*). Together, these vegetables formed another classic New England dish: succotash. Most of the identified seeds and nuts came from the early phase of the house in Stratum 2 (1777-ca. 1790), followed by Stratum 1A, which dates to ca. 1810 to 1825 (TAB. 2). Ebenezer Story II's 1853 probate (Norwich Probate District 1853) provides yet another small clue into the family's consumption of grain, with the listing of "two bushels of rye," appraised at \$1.50. Ebenezer

Story III also engaged in farming on a small scale, and statistics collected in 1860 indicate that he owned about 28 acres, worth \$1,600. His livestock that year included a horse, two cows, and two swine; the value of animals slaughtered for meat was \$50. In addition to cutting 4 tons of hay, Story raised 5 bushels of peas, 60 bushels of potatoes, 300 bushels of oats, 90 bushels of corn, and 30 bushels of rye. His two cows allowed him to produce 100 lb. of butter that year (U.S. Census Bureau 1860c).

Foodways

In New England, root vegetables, or "sauce" as they were often called, were stored in cellars, but also in deep-dug pits commonly called "sauce holes," "caves," or "tombs" in various historical documents (Harper and Harper 2007: 35-37, 74). For example, in his 1790 book, *The New-England Farmer*, Samuel Deane of Massachusetts advised on how to store potatoes:

There is no difficulty in keeping them through the winter, in a cellar that is free from frost. Caves dug in a dry soil, preserve them very well. They should be covered with two feet of earth over them. If they are in danger of frost in a cool cellar, they should be covered with a little salt hay. This any farmer may do who has a maritime situation. In cellars, they are more forward to sprout in the spring, than in caves. (Deane 1790: 228)

A number of similar pit features have been found at several 18th-century homestead sites excavated in Connecticut and have been interpreted as "sauce pits" used for storing root vegetables. At the ca. 1705 Sprague House site in Andover, seven such pits were found in the sandy cellar floor. At the site of another house from that period, the 1712 Daniels House in Waterford (formerly part of New London), three pits were found outside the cellar, and one subfloor pit was found inside the house (Harper 2005, 2010c; Harper and Clouette 2007; Harper and Harper 2007; Harper and Clouette 2010). Sauce-pit features are circular or a bit oval in plan and typically measure 2 to 4 ft. in diameter and 2 to 3 ft. deep, shaped like an inverted bell with a basin-shaped bottom. Some of the sauce pits have been found filled with sand, and others were used as trash pits after their use as food-storage pits. It seems unlikely that these pit

features were created solely for refuse disposal, as they were relatively shallow, were consistently made in a similar size and shape, contemporaneous household refuse was found scattered around the house, and because of the frequent mention of such pit features for root-vegetable storage in early New England diaries and agricultural manuals.

Three sauce-pit features were found during the excavation of the Story site. Features 1 and 12 were in the northeast corner of the site, just west of the fence line; only the very bottoms of the pits remained in the subsoil, as the plowzone was especially deep in this part of the site (FIG. 1). A sauce pit (Feature 18) discovered west of the swale midden and near the railroad embankment was found virtually intact (FIGS. 1 AND 9). It was a bit oval in plan, and measured 3 ft. 2 in. in diameter north to south and 3 ft. 10 in. deep. As typically found with sauce pits, the walls were smooth and the bottom was rounded. This sauce pit was used as a refuse midden after food storage and was densely filled with oyster and quahog shell, animal bone, and the entire articulated skeleton of a great horned owl (*Bubo virginianus*). The few diagnostic artifacts from the sauce pit indicate it was used during the early-to-mid-19th century.

By the mid-18th century, the foodways of Connecticut, like much of British America, had undergone considerable transformation from the previous century and included a great diversity of European and New World plants and animals. While in New England during the Revolutionary War, the French army commissary Claude Blanchard observed Yankee eating habits:

They do not eat soups and do not serve up ragouts at these dinners; but boiled and roast, and much vegetables. They drink nothing but cider and Madeira wine with water. The dessert is composed of preserved quinces or pickled sorrel. The Americans eat the latter with the meat. They do not take coffee immediately after dinner, but it is served three or four hours afterwards with tea; this coffee is weak and four or five cups are not equal to one of ours; so that they take many of them. The tea, on the contrary, is very strong. This use of tea and coffee is universal in America. The people who live in the country, tilling the ground and driving their oxen, take it as well as the inhabitants of the cities. Breakfast is an important affair with them. Besides tea and coffee, they

put on table roasted meats with butter, pies and ham; nevertheless they sup and in the afternoon they again take tea. Thus the Americans are almost always at the table. (Blanchard 1969: 78)

As a household and tavernkeepers, the Story family would have owned a variety of wares and utensils for the preparation, storage, and serving of foods and beverages, including a variety of ceramic vessel types, which were likely used for a multitude of purposes. Ebenezer Story's 1782 probate lists various iron pots and kettles, a brass kettle, a frying pan, a butcher knife, and a lignum-vitae wood mortar (Norwich Probate District 1782). Lignum vitae (*Guaiaecum officinale*) is a particularly hard and resinous wood from the West Indies and South America and, because of its durable and water-resistant qualities, was particularly favored for maritime uses. For serving and eating are simply listed "pewter," "crockery," and a "case knives and forks." From Stratum 2 in the lower levels of the midden, which includes the period when the house also served as a tavern, a diversity of tablewares was recovered. Vessels include matching Royal-pattern creamware plates and soup plates, creamware and China-glaze tea bowls and saucers, and creamware and delftware punchbowls or bowls. Other vessels include glass liquor and case bottles and clear-glass tumblers (FIG. 10). While traveling through southern New England during the Revolutionary War, French army officer the comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur made a series of detailed observations on the inhabitants' drinking habits:

At meals a bowl containing grog, cider, or beer is passed to those who are thirsty. (Grog being a drink made of rum and water; when there is sugar in it, it is called toddy, and if lemon is added, punch.) There are no glasses, just this inevitable bowl that is presented to you. When you are visiting, the master of the house never fails to offer you a drink. He takes one first, being careful to drink to your health. Then comes your turn. In the evening a rather light supper is eaten about ten o'clock. (Clermont-Crèvecoeur 1972: 20-21)

By the mid-18th century, tea drinking had become common in Connecticut, even among the middling sort, and a variety of teas from East Asia were available such as "bohea," "congo," "green," "hyson," and "souchong"

Figure 9. Photograph of the Feature 18 sauce pit, showing the southern half of the feature in the negative. Sauce pits were used throughout New England to store root vegetables, or "sauce." The scale is 1 m. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

(Webster 1828). Tea was far more than a beverage, however, as its consumption took on aspects of a social ritual (Rodris 1988: 439-462). In 1780 the Abbè Robin commented that in Connecticut

they also use much tea, and this sober infusion constitutes the chief pleasure of their lives; there is not a single person to be found, who does not drink tea out of China cups and saucers, and, upon your entering a house, the greatest mark of civility and welcome they can show you, is to invite you to drink with them. (Robin 1969: 24-25)

From Stratum 2 in the swale midden came a teapot-lid sherd of "black basalt," a dry-bodied stoneware that was popular throughout the second half of the 18th century and most commonly made into tea services (Noël Hume 1991: 121-122). It was customary to use these specialized vessels during times of mourning, and they may have belonged to Ebenezer's widow Mehitabel, who used them following his death.

Also from Strata 2 and 2A were recovered various table knives and forks, ceramic sherds from red-earthenware storage pots, pans, baking dishes, and a chamber pot. Various bottle and jug sherds of domestic salt-glazed stoneware were also found; such sturdy and water-impervious vessels were used to store beer, vinegar, brine, and other acidic liquids. Also from Stratum 2 are the rim and shoulder sherds of a large red-bodied Iberian-ware jar. These vessels were originally used to transport olives and olive oil, also known as Florence oil, and then were commonly reused as storage containers (Noël Hume 1991: 144). In the West Indies, old Iberian-ware jars are still used to collect and store fresh rainwater (Harper 1990: 38). For their family and tavern, Ebenezer Story also had nine kitchen chairs and a kitchen table, a candle stand, five trays, and two wooden bowls. For cooking in the large hearth, there were andirons, "two old fire shovels," and trammels and hooks. By the time of Ebenezer Story II's death in 1853, the

Table 2. Summary of carbonized plant remains (handpicked and flotation).

Plant	Number
<i>Juglans cinerea</i> (butternut)	4
<i>Corylus</i> spp. (hazelnut)	29
<i>Carya</i> spp. (hickory)	30
<i>Zea mays</i> (corn)	45
<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> (common bean)	10
<i>Triticum aestivum</i> (wheat)	5
<i>Malus</i> spp. (apple)	49
<i>P. persicaria</i> (peach)	2
<i>Gaylussacia</i> spp. (Huckleberry)	1
<i>Prunus</i> spp. (cherry)	1
<i>Fragaria</i> spp. (strawberry)	4
<i>Chenopodium</i> spp. (goosefoot)	3
<i>Rubus</i> spp. (blackberry, raspberry)	2
<i>Sambucus</i> spp. (elderberry)	1
<i>Vitis</i> spp. (grape)	1
<i>Polygonum</i> spp. (smartweed)	1
<i>Scirpus</i> spp. (sedge)	2
Poaceae (grass family)	7
Total	197

foodways of the family had changed. The table settings included a "set China," "set light blue crockery," "set dark blue crockery," and meal preparation was now done on a "cook stove."

Conclusions

The Ebenezer Story site excavations sampled only about 7.2% of the site, leaving the large and artifact-rich swale midden largely intact. The recovered data documents a family of Connecticut fishermen-farmers from the Revolutionary War through the late 19th century. The Storys' household economy, although focused intensely on fishing and shellfishing, was diverse. The Storys practiced

agriculture and animal husbandry, and they engaged in making cider, hunting, ship-building, taverning, trade, and salt production. Such impressive occupational diversity was common in other regions of New England, best documented among the farmers and fishermen of Essex County, Massachusetts (Vickers 1994: 262-263). For generations the Storys kept a wide variety of tools and household furnishings, woolen and linen wheels, carts, and boats. They also owned land, including the riverfront property, improved farmland, and a wood lot.

Although Connecticut Yankees were known for their "steady habits," they were also economically aggressive, innovative, hardworking, and willing to take risks. Like other Yankees, the Storys depended on shared labor with family members and neighbors, as well as familiar connections. Dwellings, land, boats, and seines were commonly owned in common with family members. Ebenezer Story's upbringing in a Yankee family and his working and living around mariners along the Thames River provided him with the skills to function as a cultural broker between different cultural groups where the farmlands met the tidal rivers and sea.

Fig. 10. A selection of tablewares from Stratum 2 (1777-ca. 1790) of the swale midden, from left to right: China-glaze tea saucer and bowl, creamware tea saucer and bowl, Royal-pattern creamware plate, case bottle, blue-decorated delftware bowl or punch bowl, and a glass tumbler. (Courtesy of AHS, Inc.)

The foodways of the Storys were remarkably diverse and included fish, shellfish, livestock, poultry, dairy, wild game, fruits, nuts, and cultivated vegetables and grains. Such diversity, much of which was home produced, provided a more reliable and stable food base, which was less susceptible to constraints of seasonality, embargoes, blockades, and crop failure. Barrels of salted meat, apples, and cider were stored in family cellars, and root vegetables, or "sauce," were stored in the cellar and in deep basin-shaped sauce pits outside the house. The Storys also built a cistern to secure a source of fresh water, and during the period of Ebenezer Story II (1779-1853), the house and cellar were expanded with the front door facing not the road, but the river, which was the main source of their prosperity.

Like most of their contemporaries in Connecticut, the Story's household economy was extensively connected to global markets, especially the West Indies trade. Norwich store advertisements reveal that such commodities included rum, molasses, sugar, salt, chocolate, and coffee; spices such as vanilla, allspice, cayenne pepper, and ginger; and lemons and limes, which added great variety to the diet (*Norwich Packet* 1782). The ways in which Connecticut Yankees prepared their food were influenced by maritime trade as well. In the early 1730s, Joshua Hempstead of nearby New London recorded in his diary social gatherings at which people roasted pork and beef outside at a "Barbaqued," a term derived from the method the native peoples in the West Indies used to slow cook their meat and fish on racks (Hempstead 1901: 341, 373).

The basic Yankee values, material culture, skills, and foodways of the Storys were shared in common throughout the region, and, after the Revolutionary War, Yankees pursuing profits, opportunities, and greater personal freedom would leave a deep and lasting imprint on American culture in literature, science, and the arts. As thousands of Yankee families left to settle northern New England, New York, the Midwest, and beyond, they took their culture with them and transplanted it throughout the United States.

After the data recovery was completed, the State of Connecticut concluded that the Story site was eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and was far too

important to be developed, given its immense ability to provide new information on historical-period lifeways. The Story site, with its remarkable store of information in the swale midden and house areas, has great potential to add to the knowledge of riverine-maritime family life in colonial and post-colonial New England. The entire site has been designated a State Archaeological Preserve, ensuring its permanent protection from development. A public-oriented booklet on the site was also recently published.

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